FROM EUROPE.

The screvr-steamship City of Washington, from Li erroel on the 21st and Queenstown on the 23d ult., arrived at this port on Thursday afternoon.

Tie screw-steamer Saxonia, from Southampton on the 21st ult., arrived at the same time. The arrival of the Canadian at Portland, and of the steamers 1mt named, give us papers to the 22d ult.

GREAT BRITAIN.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELISCITION.
From The London Tisses, Nov. 20.
The event which has occupied the attention of the
United St. tes for the last four years has at length come
to pass, and virtually, although not as yet legally, Mr.
Lins on has been elected President, and Mr. Hamlin
the Vice President, of the great American Confederacy.
The event has been long foreseen, and will surprise
tool of who has paid the Rust attention to American
List the patness reaction against the outrages. not ody who has paid the Reast attention to American politics. It is the natural reaction against the outrages and excesses of 1855 and 1856, the protest of the frecest and excesses of 1855 and 1856, the protest of the freeest and best educated part of the American people against these is of high-handed violence and oppression which preceded the advent of Mr. Buchanan to power. If the South has at length found that it is not omnipotent in the councils of the country, that unpleasant discovery is owing to the foolish and intemperate use which the South has made of its prosperity. While demanding the most implicit respect for its own opinions, the only has been even estentiations in proclaiming. demanding the most implicit respect for its own opinious, the South has been even estentations in proclaiming a bitter and cynical contempt for the opinious and the techings of others. Slavery has been defended as the normal and perfect state of human society, and the North has been bitterly taunted with its boust industry, and the coarseness of mancers which the fastidious Southern planter traces to that cause. While claiming for itself the menepely of the Government of the United States, the South has constantly held the language of disaffection, and the United States have been ruled by a party which was perpetually talking of disaniting them. So far from wondering that these things should have produced the result we have just witnessed, it has long appeared to as impossible that they should not. Manhald, if ruled at all, must be ruled either by force or persuation. The South could not employ the former, and have long substituted the language of provocation and definince for the latter. But these and many other circumstances, while they fully account for the change which has taken place, tend very considerably to din inish its significance. Had the South been always reasonable and conciliatory, we must have regarded the election of Mr. Lincoln as evidence of an intolerance of the very institution of Slavery which might vector describe intal to the Estability of the Union; but ous, the South has been even cetentatious in prochan

remonable and concludes a sevidence of an autolerance of the very institution of Slavery which might porter directly fatal to the stability of the Union; but the South has really taken so much pains to bring the present result to pass that it has no right to be surprised at its own success.

The causes to which the election of a Republican President is owing are chiefly interesting to as so far as they afford us may guidance in estimating the effect such a charge will produce on the foreign policy of the Union. The first impression may be that a President agricing with the general sentiment of this country on the subject of Shavery would be more likely to preserve an icable relations between the two countries than a President in avowed opposition to European notions on this important point. It is thus that the remons on this important point. It is thus that the Pope and Cardinals argue, that if the Palmerston Min-istry were to be overthrown in England, its policy would be reversed by its successors. Both ideas ap-pear to us equally fallactous. The days are gone by when the policy of a great and civilized nation can be altered by the change of a Prime Minister, and the President of the United States is in some respects little more, and in others not so much. The Chinese grin more, and in others not so much. The nothing by the accession to omes of their earnest ac-vocates of 1857; nor, we suspect, will the change in the American Government produce any particular ad-tantage to England. We are not likely to see a President of the United States who will seriously compro-nice the relations between England and the Union, nor yet a President who will resist the temptation of making a little capital for his party among the Lish and the Republican emigrants from Europe, by embarking in small quarrels and showing a certain amount of petry hostility. We do not expect that, so Freidents for the better; nor, on the other hand, do we fear that the change will be for the werse. That it is no longer generally popular in the United States to Leon ill terms with Great Britain has been abundantly proved by the generous and hospitable reception of the Frince of Wiles. This good feeling and our own good that the contract of the c intentions are a sufficient guarantee for peace and good understanding, and for us the questions involved in the triumph of either contending party are compara-tively of little moment. It is very fortunate that it should be so. It is very fortunate that we have in the good feeling and common interest of the two nations a guarantee much stronger than the caprice of Ministers gmrantee much stronger than the caprice of Aminetes or Presidents. For ourselves, then, as far as the im-netiate interest of this country is concerned, we re-gard the accession to power of the Republican Presi-dert without any very strong feeling of triumph. We have lived on good terms with his Democratic prede-cessor; we do not doubt that we shall be able to main-tain the same relations with the new Chief of the

But, although this may be all very plain and easy to ze, there is a considerable number of persons in America to whom, spart from mere political considera-tions, the change of P-esidents is not a matter of in-difference. First, there are all the employees, from the Secretaries of State down to the sorters of letters and tide-waiters. The vote that has substituted a Refor a Democrat at the Wh and each of them, a sentence of ruthless and ladiscrimi-nate prescription. There is no need to affix the lists of the prescribed in public places, after the fashion of the cyneal sylla. The proscription is exactly coincident with the number of place-holders. We cannot expect that any argument will reconcile these marty, their doors. Then there are the slave-owners the their doom. Then there are the slave-owners themselves, whose acute sensitilities on the subject of their "peculiar domestic institution," whose harred of the North, and whose fears of the masses of barlanem by which they have surrounded themselves, have led them very much to over-estimate the real importance of the change. There can be no slave so stupid and ignorant as not to know that the blow which its master has been talking of and fearing so long has fallen at last, and who will not desire term it a far greater degree of confidence than it rive from it a far greater degree of confidence than it ought really to inequire. The reign of terror now pre-railing in Texas is a sufficient proof of the existence of this plait of exaggeration, and it may, perhaps, oper-ate to call forth from the claves some manifestation of feeling, which can have no other result than to rivet fetters already too severe. We may surmise that the feeling, which can have better the sheady too severe. We may surmise the disgraceful traffic in claves, sure, sooner or later, to disgraceful traffic in claves, sure, sooner or later, to disgraceful traffic in claves of Slavery itself, will be kept follow the institution of Slavery itself, will be kept follow the institution of Slavery itself, will be kept to find all a Supreme Court of the United States restored, if all e Supreme Court of the United States restored, if not to imparti lity, to something more like a balance of epinion by the appointment of eminent Republican hawyers, and we may expect to find in the administra-tration of the Territories a spirit which will render the repetition of scenes like those of Kansass impossible. We know not that the friends of the negro have much more to expect from the new President. His powers are very limited, and will be confined within a cases much parrower than their strictly level extent.

see much parrower than their strictly legal extent by the same necessity which has made Mr. Buchanan abstain from my attempt on Cuba, and tolerate the For the rafety of the Union itself, we confess we have no fear. Of course, it will take some time before nen can cool down from the bluster which has been so profuzely used for electioneering purposes, to the language of moderation and truth. Some men have said these things so often that they are ashamed to show how little they believe them, and some so to show how little they believe them, and some so onen that they have really learned to believe them themelver. But when the cooler heads of the South begin to consider how imaginary is the injury which they have sustained, how vast are the interests involved, how heavy would be the cost, how considerable the danger of dismain, and how impossible it would be for the Southern States to maintain in the face of the world the strong position they now hold as mainters of the great American Confederacy, we sustent that the South will think better of it, and turn its namiers of the great American Confederacy, we sus-lest that the South will think better of it, and turn its activity into the more practical channel of providing Mr. Lincoln with a Democratic successor in 1864. From The London Times, Nov. 21.

From The London Times, Nov. 21.

The further accounts we have received from America tend entirely to confirm the view we took of the probable results of the Presidential election. It seems quite clear that those who were on the spot, and who, from the interest they naturally felt in what was passing around them, would be the most likely to exasperate the probable consequences, saw no reason whusever to think that the defeat of the Southern candidate would be followed by a disruption of the Union. The would be followed by a disruption of the Union. The Southern States have, in addition to the other faults which we jointed out yesterday, been guilty of the adwhich we jointed out yesterday, been guilty of the ad-ditional error of dividing their strength, owing to their final lifty to agree upon a candidate. Their only hope was that Mr. Lincoln would not obtain the requisite number of votes. They could not expect that they would be able to obtain that number for any one obe. While they were united they were successful. When they became divided they failed. It is the common later than, and cannot be reversed even in favor of couldor man, and cannot be reversed even in favor of gentle-men having such peculiar grounds for expecting every-thing heman and superhuman to combine in their favor as the slaveholders of the Southern States. When we need the speech of Mr. Lincoln on the subject of Slavery, and the speech of Mr. Lincoln on the subject of Slavery, and consider the extreme moderation of the sentiments is expresses, the allowance that is made for the situa-tion, for the feelings, for the prejudices, of the South; when we see how entirely he narrows his opposition to the single point of the azimisano of playery into the Per-

ritories, we cannot help being forcibly struck by the absurdity of breaking up a vast and glorious confederacy like that of the United States from the dread and anger inspired by the election of such a man to the effice of Chief Magistrate. If the cause of the Southerns he really so good, let them show, or rather let the cisappointed partisans and professional agitators who assume to represent them show, a little more confidence in it. Is it true that the institution of Slavery cannot exist in confederation with Freedom, unless it has in its bands the Central Government, to use and apply principally, if not solely, for its maintenance? Suppose it should be established as a fundamental maxim of the Union by the decision of a Supreme Court, in which both sides are represented, that a planter has no inherent right to take his slaves with him into a Territory does that draw after it the conseplanter has no inherent right to take his slaves with him into a Territory does that draw after it the consequence that blavery must be proscribed and abolished? Suppose a repeal of the Fugitive Slave hiw—does that prevent the South from taking such efficient measures as may be required to keep its slaves from flight and escay e? If Slavery has indeed come to this point, then, indeed, is the day of emancipation for the Negro nearer than any of us had supposed. But, if so, would not the Southerns do more wisely in setting their house in order, and preparing some plan of gradual emancipation, by which the violence of the impending catastrophe night in some degree be mitigated, than in clinging to a system which, on their own admission, can only exist under the very improbable condition of a systemsuic sacrifice of the interests and feelings of the North to those of the South?

only exist under the very improbable condition of a systematic sacrifice of the interests and feelings of the North to those of the South?

We do not, as we have said, believe the catastrophe to be imminent, and we are disposed to attribute to the institution of Slavery a vitality, which, as it seems, its warnest advocates do not believe it to posses; still we cannot conceal from ourselves that the recent vote of the American people is fraught with many momentous consequences. Heretofore when a President has been elected he has been supported at least by a minority in every State of the Union But in the present instance there is a considerable number of States in which not a single vote was east for the successful candidate. This, it is said, and not without some show of justice, tends directly to that state of pratice against which Washington emphatically connecled his fellowitizens—the dividing themselves into factions designated by geographical limits. It must always be remembered, however, that if Mr. Lincoln has not had even a misority in many of the Slave States, this has happened because on questions relating to the extension or maintenance of Slavery a great number of the Southern States allow of no minority. A man may have opinions adverse to Slavery, and a man may reside in a Slave State, but he cannot do both these things at once. If he ascerts his opinions, he must change his residence, or must prepare i inself for a residence in a world beyond the jurisdiction of Lynch law. If, then, there he no minority in favor of the President elect in some of the States, it is because in them on the question of Slavery there is no free discussion, no liberty of thought, speech, writing, or action; and it is to this source, and not to any peculiar factiousness in the supporters of Mr. Lincoln, that the charpmess of the division now made apparent between the North and the South is to be traced. In the North there are majorities and minorities on the slave question; in the South there is at least apparent between marin ity, just as there is an appearance of a universe belief in the Koman Catholic religion in Spain or in th

manihity, just as there is an appearance of a universal belief in the koman Catholic religion in Spain or in the States of the Church.

Another effect of the change which has just taken place is one not peculiar to America, but which was strongly felt in England thirty years ago. The Southerners and their allies, owing to a tenure of office extending overso many years, have obtained a monopoly of efficial knowledge and aptitude. So long and so firmly established has been their dynasty that the cause of the North has been deserted in despair by the ablest of Northern politicians. Seeing no chance of deing that which has just been done, Mr. Webster, Mr. Everett, and a number of canneat men of the same party, have allied themselves to the South, and sought by concessions to the slave-owning interest to obtain a position which they believed the North would never be able to give them. These men, the natural leaders of the Republican party, were lost to them owing to this fatal miscalculation, and Mr. Lincoln will have to carry on his Government by new and untrate officials in the face of an Opposition full of ability and experience. It is, beside, assented that, although the President is Republican, the majority of the two Chambers is Democratic; so that the new reign starts with that which is only too often the difficulty of American politics—a direct conflict between the Legislature and the Executive. Probably this reflection will tend as much as anything to soften the first alarm of the South. Upon the whole, though we do not expect any very considerable tenefit to ourselves, and although we believe anything to solten the first alarm of the South. Upon the whole, though we do not expect any very considerable tenefit to ourselves, and although we believe the Southern States to be a great deal more frightened than hurt by the recent election, we rejoice, on higher and surer grounds, that it has ended in the return of Mr. Lincoln. We are glad to think that the march of Shivery, and the domineering tone which its advocates were beginning to assume over Freedom, have been at length arrested and silenced. We rejoice that a vast community of our own race has at length vival at length arriested and shenced. We repose that a vast community of our own race has at length given an authoritative expression to sentiments which are entertained by every one in this country. We trust to see the American Government employed in tasks more worthy of a State founded on the doctrines of liberty and equality than the invention of shifts and devices perpetuate servitude; and we hear in this great pro-test of American freedom the tardy echo of those hu-mane doctrines to which England has so long become

ITALY.

NEAPOLITAN AFFAIRS.

We have received letters from Gaeta, dated the We have received letters from tasets, cared the 13th, degiciting a dismal state of things. Dismison is showing itself among the general officers. Some are traiterously inclined, others anwilling to fight. Gen-erale Salzano, Barbalonga, Colonna, and Polizzi have resigned. Gen. Colonna wrote that, if his resignation was not accepted, he should go over to the Pied-monters with his troops. The command of Gasta has montere with his troops. The command of Gaëta has been given to Gen. Vinl, a man upward of 90 years old; his son commanded in Calabras at the time of Garibaldi s handing. On the 12th inst. there was lighting at the outposts, which lasted all day. The 15th battalion of theseenrs, commanded by its Colonel, I intelli, brother of the ex-Minister of War, laid down its arms and surrendered to the Piedmontess. Gen Bertohni, chief of the staff, sent to visit the outposts sertetchin, thef of the start, sent to visit the outposts, cane tack without having been out of the town, and said that there was nothing new. He was abandoned and pursued. In consequence of the engagement on the lath, the Piedmontese having gained ground, the troops emanyed outside the place have been brought in. Sardinian vessels are every day disembarking seige materials. Two or three thousand men of the liedmontese army are at work making parapets. M. M. Cartonelli, Pietro Ulica, and Antonio Ulica, ministers, have gone to France; their return is expected 81 orthy."

pected stortly."

The Gasta Gezette has the following:

"The French customs has decided that vessels of the kingde m of the Two Si-ilies, if they present themselves in the ports of the French empire with papers and the flag of revolution, cannot enjoy the advantages which are guaranteed to the royal subjects by our tests of compares with France. This determination This determination. which for great honor to the lapsets by of trenty of commerce with France. This determination, which does great honor to the Imperial Government, does not stand in need of comment or praise. It has been cictated by that good faith of intentions and political conduct which constantly cistinguishes all the

acts of the French Government.

Gen. Ullon, the Neapolitan Minister of War, has published two orders of the day; one deciding that, in consequence of the zeal and devotedness shown by the soldiers of the garrison of Messian, they shall receive the rilver medal of the Order of Francis II.; and the second thanking that garrison for coming norward and subscribing a sum of 14,000 duents toward the expenses

The Espero announces that the Piedmontese Government has sout pressing orders to immediately for i-fy the Rocca d'Anio, on Luke Idro, in the Alge of Lom-

The volunteers of Marsals, Catalafirms, and Paleruso have resolved to present Garitalai with a star of dia-nonce, learing the inscription, "The Thousand to their Clief!" The Austrian Gazette says:

The Neapolitan envoy, Prince Petralla, has presented to the Emperor an autograph letter from his sover ign, dated Guéta, the 3d inst., and containing interesting information as to toe instructions of French Admiral and the battle of the Garigliano. Lie letter the King Francis II. expresses his firm reso-lation to adhere faithfully to his military mission as long as possible. Dispatches from Gasta of the 5th inst., brought here by Count Lucebest-Pall Duckess of Berry, confirm that resolution. Count Lucebesi-Palli son of the

PROTESTS ON BEHALF OF FRANCIS II. The following note has been addressed by the Min-ister of Foreign Affaire of Francis II. to the diplo-matic agents of that monarch. It is dated Gasta, 15th

"In a previous dispatch I made known to you in w In a previous dispatch I made known to you in which had despoiled the King, our master, and all the royal factily of their private fortune, and added calamny to the vichtion of all laws. It was not enough to take possession of the immense artistical riches which his Majesty, although they belonged to him by inheritance, had always left at the command of his people, thereby drawing an immense number of persons to the enjital; it was not enough to arbitrarily confe-cate the majorate of the Princes, the marriage portions of the Princesses, the rescorace of orphane; the lega-cies left to the poor by Ferdinand II, and the inheri-tance of the holy Princess of Savoy, the succed mether

of the King our master, but they have obeyed the logi: royal fan ily amorg individuals who for the last twelve years have not ceased to conspire against the dynasty, the throne and social order, and against all the retire it less which constitute the basis of universally

recognized right.

"Low with comprehend, Sir, that these are not men of sincere of minor who have fought, and suffered in the struggle against the established Government, and that it is not those men who will profit by this subversive act. Honest men, of whatever opinions they may be will reject with indignation all participation in this act of rapine. After the glorification and remanera will reject with indignation all participation in this act of rapins. After the ghorification and remaneration of the regicide, those who have several times sworn to murder Ferdinard II. must have a large part of the booty of his family's fortune. The justice of the revolution will, that children shall be forced to remunerate attacks committed sgainest their parents. In the decree inclosed, note well the preamble and the date. It is therein said that 'on the 15th May, 1848, Ferdinand III. violated a sworn compact, filled the city with terror and with blood, substituted arbitary acts and violence for the law, and from that time commenced political persecutions.' If a Government ever had a tight to make relatance it was on that day. For the first time the representatives of the recycle assembled according to the Constitution worn to by the King and by the nation, when, in order to prevent the pacific isanguration of parliamentary labors, revolution broke out. Every one knows that the Government adopted every means of conciliation before it had recourse to force, and that after the suppression of the outbresk it hastened, according to the same Constitution, to convoke a new Chamber. The decree above alluded to is signed by King Victor Emanuel, as well as others; the date of the 23d October is posterior by two days to the phebiscite staributing to Victor Emanuel the sovereignty of the Two Sicilies, and by sleven days to the determination come to by the King of Surdinia has conspired against the those of Bourbon. The inschence of those acts is evident, since the King of Surdinia has conspired against the throne of the King of the Two Sicilies, and, violating Divine and human laws, went in person to consummate an actious aggression, and now lends his name, his anand homan laws, went in person to consummate an odious aggression, and now lends his name, his authority, and his armed force, to the execution of these enormities of which he daresto take the responsibility before Europe and before posterity.

"I have considered it my duty to address myself to be a few before have my make known to the

"I have considered it my duty to address myself to you, Sir, in order that you may make known to the Cabinet to which you are accredited in what manner the King's Government regards those facts, and in order that you may solennly and formally protest, on the part of Francis II., against the revolutionary decree of the 22d October. Be kind enough to leave a copy of this dispatch with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and acknowledge the receipt of it.

"CASELLA."

The Special Government has also impedite notest.

fairs, and acknowledge the receipt of it.

The Spanish Government has also issued its protest, on which the Nord makes the following observations:

"The document is not calculated to cause much sensation. This posthemens manifestation, which appears to be a concession wrung from Marshal O'Donrell, as a compensation for still more ill-advised measures which were projected, is an arm which can easily be turned by adversaries against the Court of Spain itself. What surprises in this document is, not the claim for an eventual right, which is more than hypothetical, but the Language of a Government which has issued from a revolution—that is to say, the national will—and which takes on itself to declare that Europe will never recognize the manifestations of that will made by universal suffrage. What is still stranger is, to see a government which has disregarded the rights of legitimacy, and which only exists in defiance of such rights, now put itself forward in the free rights of such rights, now put itself forward in the rame of Europe, as the legal defender, the residuary legatee of them. But the arguments of the Spanish call net will not possess much authority in the eyes of European courts, and will not exercise the slightest inficence on the destinies of Italy."

GAETA. Tre Opisione of the 1th reminds its readers that Gasta is a second Gibraltar. It is armed with seven hundred pieces of artillery. All the sovereigns, from Charles V. 'downward, have added to its defenses. Ferdirand II. forrified its most vulnerable points. "Our army," says the Opinione, "will find great difficulties in taking it; but this siege will not binder the pelitical and military reorganization of Southern Univ. a task to which the Government is devoting its Itely, a tack to which the Government is devoting its they, a task to which the Government is devoting in utmost effects." The Espero states that Gaeta has provident for six months, and that during the siego the representatives of foreign Powers will remain on board elips-of-war belonging to their nations at

the representative or foreign to their nations at an hor in the port.

A communication from Gaeta of the 12th furnishes some cetails not without interest:

The Neapolitan troops still possessed out of the town the different positions of the Monte Secco. As to Geta itself, it was described as stronger than ever. The front of attack on the land side does not exceed 700 metres in extent. It is defended by works cut in the rock, and armed with three rows of faced batteries—ere of which has rifled cannon. These batteries together meant about 300 guns, and their line of fire converges on the points from which the attack must receivaily be made. The ditch at the foot of the e-carpment itself is completely covered. The other fortified points are protected by massess of rock, which render them unapproachable. The ground in front of the place of attack is so rocky that any approaches must be most difficult, and occupy a considerable time. Independently of those defence, Gueta possesses a certain number of works established on the hights, among which may be mentioned the castle, the Tower of St. Francis, and the Monte Orlando, a strong fort, which commands both the land side and the sea. As to the port, it is defended by considerable works, which would it is defended by considerable works, which would came great damage to versels of war built of wood. In the sin tion in which Greenow is, and with the in the state on his war and with the state reactive remaining free in consequence of the non-recognition of the blockade by the European Powers, it may, with a garrison of from 6,000 to 7,000 men, with repyllies of all kinds, defend itself for an almost indefinite resion. The struggle will be confined on both rides to a combat of artillery. The besiegers may establish nortar batteries and bombard the place; but both rides to a comount of artinery. The beausgers may establish mortar batteries and bombard the place; but that means will only occasion the destruction of the churcles, public buildings, and private houses, but will not nake the defenders of it surrender, for the batteries and to rits are all bomb-proof. The King had put one wing of his palace into strong defense, and to it retired with his family.

Francis II, has issued the following order of the day:

Francis II. has issued the following order of the day:
Solciers—When, after two months of generous
efforts, perfect self-devotion, labor and fatigue, we
thought we had completed our work of ernehing the
revolutionary invasion of our country, there arrived
the regular army of a friendly soversim, which, by
threatening our line of retreat, has obliged us to abandon our position. Happen what may from these events,
the whole of Europe, in estimating and judging them,
will not be able to do less than admit the valor and fidelity of a handful of brave men, who, relisting the
perfidious seduction, as well as the strength of two
armies, have not only made resistance, but have once periadous seduction, as well as the strength of two armies, have not only made resistance, but have once more rendered illustricus the history of the Neap-litan army by the names of Santa Maris, Cajazzo, Trifisco, Sant Angelo, &c. These facts will remain indelibly graven on my heart. To perpetuate the remembrance of them a bronze medal will be struck, bearing the leget d "Campaign of September and October, 1889," and these words on the reverse, "Santa Maria, Cajaz ze, Triffsee, Sant Angelo," &c. The medal will be suspended by a blue and red rioton; while or a sub-ing your notile breasts, it will remind everyone of your facility and your valor, which will always be a claim to glory for those who shall bear your mans. FRANCIS IL suspended by a blue and red ribbon; while ornsmen

THE PAPAL STATES. A Turin letter of the 17th, in the Constitutionne

Mys: If was reported here yesterday that Cialdini had oc cupied Terracina, ti e port of the Roman States neares the Nearolitan frontier. That town is a military post on of some importance, and contains 8,000 to 10,001 in a bitants. We now know that its occupation has not taken place, but it may be effected at any moment. One of the ressons which brought Gen. Fanti to Turin was to submit to the deliberations of the Council of Ministers. was to attend to the deliberations of the Conneil of Ministers, the eventual occupation of that place. It would seem that to continue the operations of the siege of Gaeta with due rogard for the health of the troops, it is indispensable to take pos-ression of that point. The council of Ministers author-ized Gen. Claddini, in case of absolute necessity, to occup Terrama, unless the French garrison of the Pentifical States should oppose such step by force. The occupation, if it takes place, will only be military, the leaf authorities would remain as they are unless The occupation, if it takes place, will only be military, the local authorities would remain as they are, nules they should spontaneously leave the town to itself. Hitherto the necessity for the occupation has not arisen, and there is some reason to believe that it will be avoided. The latest tews come to hand is unsatisfactory. The Abruzzi, and more especially the provinces of Terramo and Aquila, are overrum with armed bands, who have not forgotten the tractions of Fra Diavolo. These bands do not seek to fight in the name of the cause for which they pretend to have taken arms. On the contrary they carefully shun all encounter with the flying trary they carefully shun all encounter with the flying columns of Piedmontese sent after them. They limit their exploits to plundering and ravaging the country, to destroying the houses of the more prominent parti-sans of Italian Urity, and murdering the owners who may be so unlucky as to fall into their hands. The Na may be so unlinely as to full into their hands. The Na-tional Guard alone was for a time charged with putting it em down, but flying columns have now been organ-ized which will probably succeed in speedily restoring order in the disturbed districts. A Provost's Court has been established at Aquin, before which all persons taken in arms will be summarily tried, and a similar Court will be immediately constituted at Terama.

A SLAVEHOLDING REPUBLIC.

Prom The London Saturday Review.

Nothing can be more rational than the skepticism

which leads men of experience to doubt the occurrence of any very great event which is very confidently prodicted; and, if the event be an American event, incredulity is increased by the knowledge that the Americen people have principles of barking which are entirely distinct from their principles of biting. Still there are some symptoms which make it worth while to attend to the contingency of a separation between the Northern and Southern States of the Union. If there is enerign which clearly shows that an American is gen ninely uneasy, it is the abatement of his commercia confidence, and we now learn that, as soon as it became more than probable that Mr. Lincoln would be elected to the Presidency, American securities declined seriously in all parts of the United States. It does not seem to be thought for one moment that any act of armed rebellion is meditated by the slaveholders, and they appear to be too divided in opinion for there to be much chance of their concerting plan of simultaneous resistance. But one or two Southern States, peopled by bigote of more than ordiparily furious temper, have announced that they mean to take a course which is certainly alarming. They ropose to instruct the Senutors who represent them in he Upper House of Congress to resign their seats, and then they intend to abstain from filling the vacancies The Senate, in which all States are equally represented, is the knot of the Federal Union; but there do not seem to be any means of compelling an unwilling State to contribute delegates to it, nor is there any known Constitutional fiction by which the empty places can te taken to be filled. The withdrawal of a part of the Senators would amount to a de facto separation much n ore difficult to deal with, and perhaps more dangerous, then overt treason against the common wealth. As soon as it becomes worth while to discuss the

establishment of a separate federation of the Slave-

owning States, the considerations which suggest them-

selves are such as to make as wonder at the folly of

the undertaking. The least drawback on it is its

expensiveness. At present, the cost of the General

Government is most unequally distributed between the North and South; and, though in the Southern section these expenses are much larger than in the Northern, from the greater inaccessibility of the country, the amount contributed by the Slave States to the revenue which pays them is out of all proportion smaller than the amount raised from the States of Free-Scil. This, however, is a triffing reason for valuing the Union, compared with others. Is it possible that the planters do not perceive that their connection with the Northern States has the effect, as it were, of insuring their reculiar institution? Looked at impartially it is much more like a contrivance for keeping up negro servitude than for weakening it. The utmost outrage with which they are menaced by Mr. Lincoln and the Retublicans is a Congressional measure prohibiting the introduction of Slavery into the North-Western Territories of the Union. Even this disadvantage is not necessarily a consequence of the Republicans carrying the Presidency; for Congress is still hostile to the Republicans, and the Southern planters, who are unaninous themselves, and allied with a powerful minority in every State of the North, have a reasonable prospect of even now thwarting their antagonists policy. But if the Southern States once succeeded in constituting a separate Federation, it is surely clear that every question now pending between themselves and the North would become at once an international question. Every point now at issue the domestic forum of Congress would come under the cognizence of the general society of nations. What sort of division of the unsettled territory now belonging to the United States would ever be agreed nion between the Northern and Southern Federations nolody can pretend even to conceive; and this is the very difficulty which seems to show that the severance could never be effected without bloodshed. It is plain, lowever, that every attempt of the Southern States to ext and beyond the territory absolutely secured to them would be resisted, not simply by their Northern neighbors, but by the whole strength of European civilization. The nore reckless spirits of the South are push ng on their quarrel in the belief that, if they were once disenbernmed of the Union, they could rend province after province from Mexico, and fill each successive acquisition with their slaves. But Europe would have a word in the matter. It is simply the in correration of the North with the South which prevents Eurorean statesmen from treating the annexa tions of the United States as avowed extensions of the area of Slavery. They cannot now upbraid a Confederacy, of which more than half the members have slaves, with conquering and annexing merely in the interest of cotton and negroes, bu there would be no scruple about taxing the Southern Federation with designs which it would be at no rains to conceal. Nor is there, we take it, the slightest doubt that the Free States would rather use than impede the efforts of European diplomacy. The Monroe doctrine would be destroyed by the very fact of severation, and a Northern Union, once divided from the South, would not be long in making the discourage ment of Slavery the cardinal principle of its foreign policy. In short, the measure of the dangers of separation is the advantage now derived from disunion. Slavery is sufficiently unpopular in the world for a mere slaveholding Commonwealth to run no small risk of becoming the victim of a general crusade. But the actual connection of the Southern States with the North has the effect of masking their exclusive devotion to hated system. The Constitution of the United States as experience has abundantly shown, can often be a managed as to promote the objects of the slave-owners. and wherever advantage is gained in this way, it is gained without incurring danger, and almost without ettracting attention.

tertained by the Americans of the Southern States has persuaded them that they would lose nothing in military strength and resource by casting off the bondage of the Constitution. We can only say that England is the only country which has had a serious etruggle with the United States, and English experience does not bear out the Southern pretencions. During the Revoltionary War, the English troops scarcely commanded a foot of ground in the North which they did not actually occupy. But, later in the struggle, the South was all but subjugated; and had not the inconceivable strategy of the English Generals given a different turn to the sone, it seemed at one time probable that, even if New-England and the Middle States obtained their independence, the mother country would be left in resession of Georgia and the Carolinas, just as she as of Canada and Nove-Scotin. Similarly, in the war of 1812, nobody in England ever doubted that the Southern States were the vulnerable part of the Federation; nor has the result changed this opinion. The expedition to New-Orleans, though wilfully given up to destruction by General Pakenlam, was exceedingly well planned; and had not the signing of peace in Europe in terrupted hostilities, a second expedition on a larger scale, and under better commanders, would assuredly have ascended the Mississippi. It is not, indeed, to be supposed that anybody in England ever doubted, or doubts, the personal gallantry of the Southern whites. Even if the Southerner be somewhat of a bully, w have no faith in the popular assumption that a bully is a poltreen. But we in Europe have recently learned to distrust the strength of every system which is based on the depression of a subject population. There were brave men in Italy who were wedded to the cause of legitimacy-such men, for example, as are still grouped around King Francis at Gasta. But the lesson we have received is, that it is never safe to calculate or the abasement of subjects. The Southerners can hardly disdain the negro as a rebel more than the local Itulian despots despised their people as mutineera. If the pegro is considered half an animal, the Italian was thought half a woman. "My people," wrote King Ferdinand, "bend their nocks and obey." Yet a very

The extravegent notions of their own prowers en-

slight assistance from without swept away the Italia tyrer te; and for our part we do not envy the Southern whites when once a negro Garibaldi is among their slaves.

FROM BOSTON.

THE RECENT RESPECTABLE RIOT.

It is possible that I may give THE TRIBUNE some de

sails of the Bell-Everett riot not picked up and forward.

ed by its vigilant reporter, who was fortunately present.

Considering the fact that the rioters, according to The

Boston, December 5, 1860.

Courier, were strong in "respectability," as well as in numbers, that paper, as well as The Post, is unaccount ably remise in net giving the names of those who were recent and active. With the exception of Mr. Richard S. Fay, Mr. J. Murray Howe, Mr. Christopher Plun bett, Col. Jonas H. French, Mr. Perkins (Thomas H. I believe), Mr. Bacon, and Mr. Thomas Farmer of Roxbury, I do not fird in either of these papers the name of any of the rioters. I use the word rioters in no offensive sense, but for convenience. The rioter of one day is a revolutionary patriot the next year, and if these gentlemen succeed in permacently putting down free speech in Boston, I shall, after the customary neage, change the designation. But as the experiment remains doubtful, with the chances at present against them, I will stick to the word I have used. There was one curious feature about this riot and the conduct of the public authorities, and that was this: that the police officers, acting under the orders of the Chief, Mr. D. J. Coburn, and the Mayor, Mr. F. W. Lincoln, jr., made the curious mistake of undertaking to stop the disturbance by arresting and ejecting the quiet people and legal occupants of the ball, and letting the rioters remain in peaceable possession. Certain men had hired the hall, and were presumed to be able and willing to pay for it, for the purpose of discussing the best means of abolishing Slavery. Certain other men made an irruption into it, violently and rictonaly took possession of it, wrested it from its purpose, in fact, burglariously entered and stole it, and the police, instead of interrupting the procers, proceeded with the utmost coolness to dispose the original and rightful owners. It is no wonder that, when the Mayor and the police have thus got their heads turned to; syturvy on the subject of their duty of preserving the peace of the city, the insanity should also seize the Jurice, the District-Attorneys, and other officers of the Courts, so that there should be, as there has been for the last year, almost complete immunity for regues and rescals of all sorts. I do not mean to blane the police. They were acting under orders, or supposed they were, though it was hard to find out what the orders were. Dr. S. G. Howe, finding himself excluded from the ball; at a time, too, when there was no greater disorder than is frequent in political meetings, demanded the reason, and was told by the rolice officer at the door that the Chief bad given orders that no one should be admitted. The doctor proceeded to the Mayor's office, and there found the Chief, who told him he had given no such orders. The fact is, probably, that he had forgotten all about it, or had given all sorts of contradictory orders, or had given no orders, and the officer at the door was doing his best on his own responsibility. An incapable officer is always the worst of rioters in a disturbance of this kind, and if somebody had read the riot act to Daniel J. Coburn. and dispersed him, he would have done good service. His subordinates-(plague on it! I keep speaking as if he was not himself the most ridiculous of subordinates, servile to all the earthy influences !) were one moment bustling a man out, and the next moment returning him and apologizing for their roughness, and Mr. F B. Santorn, the lawful Chairman, was actually rescued at of the hands of an officer by two others, who reurned him safely into the hall from which he had been rudely ejected. Most of them were good-natured and clever fellows, who would have gladly done their duty if they had been properly guided. But I am straying from my purpose, which was to

give you the names of some of the solid and respectable n.en who undertook to "set Boston right," as your neighbor of The Express has it. Before doing this, however, I must pause to express my regret that the cading men of the Bell-Everett and Democratic parties so digracefully skulked throughout the whole day. The Post, two days in succession, egged on the rioters, but I cannot learn that either Col. Greene or Mr. Froth inglam was present. Nobody saw Mr. Hallett, or Collector Whitney, or Mr. Builey of The Herald, or Mr. E. B. Bigelow, or Mr. John T. Heard, of the De n ocratic side, or Mr. Everett, or Mr. Winthrop, or Mr. Hillard, or Mr. Stevenson, or Mr. Saltonstall, or Mr. Fearing, or Mr. Appleton, or even Mr. Lunt, of th Eel.-Everett persuasion. The vindication of Boston was unfortunately left to such small fry as Oliver Stevens, and Thomas Farmer, and Cherrington, and vonney Choate, and Jo. Bell, and Harry Horion, and Watson Freeman, jr., and the mass of named and nameless riffraff that tollowed them. It would have been a cheerful and pleasant sight if we could lave seen Mr. Everett himself raising his clarion voice and his quivering finger, in behalf of the country a this crisis of her fate: or Mr. Hallett interjoeing his burly form, like Mr. Webster's "broad shield of the Constitution," between our united cuntry and James Redpath; or Mr. Winthrop, winding his clock about him with one hand and with the other striking a hearty blow from the shoulder, for the Union and the laws; or Mr. Whitney, encouraging his squad of gaugers and inspectors; or Mr. Lunt, piously lifting his voice and asking the blessing of the God he igorantly worships on the good work; or Col. Greene, king penance for his early errors in the cause of free steech, in Alner Kneeland's case, by helping to mob aen as unpopular as Kneeland ever was. But, alss there men seem to have been satisfied with urging on the mob, or with the still more ignominious part of

rejoicing over what it accomplished. Mr. Richard S. Fay and Mr. J. Murray Howe were le most conspicuous persons among the rioters Mr. Fay was de facto Chairman for a time, and Mr. Howe thought he occupied the same position afterward. Mr. Fuy is a wealthy man, resident in Lynn. He is one of the Cow Commissioners, and has the reputation of knowing something about agriculture. Though no a Besten man, he evidently feels as great a respons lility for the existence and success of our experiment of government as the solidest man we have, even Mr. G. T. Curtis himself. Mr. Howe I shall say nothing about; Le is exempt from criticism for reasons which te and a portion of the public understand. Col. Jonas H. French, who was very active in the good work, was one of Gov. Gardner's Aids. Thomas H. Perkins, a breker, was very lively, compromising his dignity ec much, I am informed, as to assault a negro. Mr. Wm. D. Swan, book publisher, and two young Swans, were Learty syngathizers. So was Mr. Arthur Gilman, architect-of his own fortune, as well as of sundry churches, and an excellent story-teller. Wm. C. Fay described sarcustically by The Traveller as a centlema of "great respectability and considerable prominence, continued his labors in the evening at the church in Joy place, and if he had been properly supported might have achieved as signal a victory there as he and is associates achieved at the Temple in the morning. Charles A. Brewer and Mehael Scanlan, and Issue P. Wainwright and Charles C. Hobbs, are men of less note, and I do them a service in bringing them before the jublic in such respectable company. In addition to Cleate, jr., and Jo. Bell, the bar was represented by B. F. Russell and Oliver Stevens. Perhaps those arr not the highest names at the Boston bar, but they may te considered rising men after Monday's work. Mr. Horten (before menfioned) is of the firm of F. Skinner & Co., and is a worthy representative of dry-goods principles. John C. Boyd, Wm. C. Rogers, a Salom nerelant, J. H. & W. F. Lond, J. T. Coolidge, jr., harles Larkin, Wm. J. Parsons, son of Prof. Parsons, Plunkett, Mooney, and Marble, Custom-House Lecre (very noisy and disagrecuble), William Aspirwall, of the old Whig State Com-

mittee, and others, are mentioned to see ne having been irritant in season and out of season. Then there were Amorys, Heaths, Randalls, and so on, too numerous to mention. If I have omitted any name I shall gladly, on proper application, supply them, and if any gentleman disclaims the honor, or feels binnels nuworthy of the choice companionship I have given him, I shall take pains to make the necessary correctico, so that the future chronicler who searches the files of THE THIBUNE, out of which history will be written, may not fall into any errors. You will see that all professions and classes were represented. The shoulder-hitters were very strong. The Chief of Police remarked concerning one of them, that he deserved to be arrested every night of his life; be let him alone, however, on this occasion. One gentlemen, who is under indictment for an attempt to kidnap, was observed to be active in the good work. A morchest. who not long ago was obliged to pay \$100 to a baggage-master at the Eastern Railroad Depot (a man about 70 years of age) for committing an assault upon him, was

also conspicuons. The literary class was represented. One genale was pointed out to me as the author of a work on "The Everion of Paymente," "The Autobiography of a Jeremy Diddler," "Hand-Book for Swindlers," Stealing Without a Master," "Bird's-Eye View o Boston, with Particular Directions how to Dodge a Policemen," and other elementary works which I have never seen, and which I suspect are still unpublished.

I have omitted to mention that Mr. Amor A. Law. rence was present. I do not think he was sympathising with the rioters to any great extent; still less robably, did he have any sympathy with the meting. Following the Stebbins rule, he was no doubt in favor of free speech, but opposed to all measures to protect and secure it. His equivocal position is a perfectly natural and suitable one. I have told how decidedly be was implicated in John Brownism, but one incident in his history I have not related. When John Brown's wife was in Boston, just before her visit to Virginia for the purpose of seeing her husband, Mr. Lawrence called upon her, and said, "Mrs. Brown, I have always had a high respect for your husband, and I don't think I bave any less now." He also gave her money, and told her if she wanted any more, to let him know.

Yet at the last election he was the candidate for Governor of The Courier faction, whose chief "card" during the campaign was Mr. Andrew's declaration that whatever might have been the character of John Brown's set. Brown himself was right. Of such a men

it is impossible to predict anything.

Sometimes we say of a man that "you always know where to find him." If this can be said of Mr. Lawrence, it must be because he is sure to be on one side to-day, and the opposite side to-morrow. He will be a good man for us to send to Congress, for I see by a telegram in The Boston Journal, "that news of the Boston disturbance is received with satisfaction" in Washington, " even by many who condemn the act." In fact this seems to be the identical position in which some of the Boston newspapers now are with re-spect to the Tremont Temple affair. The Advertiser and The Journal have published apologetic articles, but The Journal seems to have been partially brought to its senses by an article in The Courier, exultingly threatening in substance, that Sumner, Phillips, and Wilson, should be served in the same way as Douglas and Sanborn were served, if they undertook to speak Ard why should they not ?

THE TRIBURE'S report of the riot is the best I have seen, and is indeed the only report of the attempted attack upon Mr. Phillips after the meeting in Joy street. The Traveller had a very good report of the evening meeting, but most of the accounts were more or less colored with friendship for the rioters. The Post's report professess to be verbatim, and is in general fair, but Mr. Douglass's retort upon Fay is omitted purposely. Fay had remarked that a negre slavedriver is the most cruel in the world. "Yes, Sir," said Douglas, " and for the precise reason that"
"Northern Douglasce is inconceivably meaner than a Southern slaveholder." I don't think Mr. Fay is a rapid reasoner, but he seemed to understand this allusion. Some say he hung his head and blushed, but I do not credit this.

It is due to the police to say that they behaved very well at the meeting in Joy Place in the evening. There s a good deal of talk here about a Metropolitan Police, but I trust, for the credit of Boston, which we are api to think a much more orderly city than New-York, that the Legislature will not feel itself compelled to resort to such a measure of legislation. Whoever is chosen Mayor on Monday next, Mr. Coburn will probably have to retire. I have been told that he wants the position of United States Marshal, and inasmuch as acording to historical precedent and Mr. Buchanan's to enforce the laws, I think Mr. Coburn admirably fitted for the place. I should have great confidence that the disagreeable vigilance of Marchal Freeman, is

lave cases, would not find an imitator in Mr. Coburn. The Presidential Electors met to-day at the States House, and without the slightest regard to the alarming condition of the country, voted unanimously for Lincoln and Han lin. James H. Mitchell of Bridgewater, one of the Electors, was chosen Messenger.

Moses Kimball has been nominated by the Republisare for Mayor. The Pro-Slavery men and Disunionists ave writed on Joseph M. Wightman. The Republiears have been disorganized by an attempt to nominate Mr. Tobey, a worthy and able man, but not a Republican, who declined their advances, and left them, at a late day, unprepared for the election. I hope Mrs Kimball may be chosen, but am not confident.

From Our Special Reporter. Boston, Dec. 4, 1360. The ultimate verdict upon the events of yesterday will undoubtedly be that the want of prudence displayed in calling the Convention at all upon such an anniversary was more than matched by the vulgarity and cowardice of the merchants, bankers, brokers, 'and other well-dressed individuals" who conspired to break it up. It is perfectly well understood, and had been all along, that if left free from interference the meeting would have flickered away with even more than the usual harmleseness, and have fallen into oblivien before people could have had time to ask what it was all about. In the present crisis, however, this was not enough to satisfy the merchants and others whose interests are assailed by the hostility of the outh. "This state of affairs," numbers of them were card to say, "is ruining us. If it continues, the crash must come, and sink usual together. Unless we pacify the Secessionists now, we are all done for." And so on the ground that this meeting, if suffered to proceed n pence, would be regarded at the South as a general index of Northern opinion (or Boston opinion, for, to the citizen of our Athens, the terms are identical meaning), it was resolved that the John Brown cone moration should be turned into a grand Union-plan tering ceession. But this was not to be done in any ordinary way. The circumstances demanded a traordinery action. To break up an offensive moving by such commenplace methods as the employment of profossional ricters might do in an inferior care, but here the solid gravity of the community, it was determined, should be invoked, to lend dignity to the proceedings. It would be hard, it was said, to regard as a comon mob any gathering, for any purpose, however turbulent, of the Perkirses, and the Lawrences, and the Amorys. and the Arrinwalls, and the other recognized of serve ers of essential refinements and social privileges The noral effect upon South Carolina of such a speciale as i ese representatives of rarest accomplishment mest elevated taste rushing laden with conserve ment to repair the possible fractures which might enffer at the hands of the agitators, would nata-rally be predigious. And so, in the fullest force that they could gather, they leaved to the content. Some, indeed, had anticipated little violence, feeling, as & were, the same consciousness of power as Sim Tappertit was wont to slow, and imagining that by the simple process of approaching the obnazions dissemina-tions of false sentiment, and "eyeing them over," they could exterly quell and subdue them. So County